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Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /075 W
----------031670 171805Z /46
R 170910Z JAN 78
FM AMCONSUL DURBAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2802
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

EO 11652: NA
TAGS: PINT,SF
SUBJ: THE ULUNDI ALLIANCE AND POLITICAL INTERFERENCE

REFS: A. DURBAN 0023 B. DURBAN 0029 C. DURBAN 0020

1. SUMMARY: PARTICIPANTS IN THE ALLIANCE FORMED AT THE JAN 11 ULUNDI CONFERENCE (REF A) HAVE BEEN AT PAINS TO STRESS THEY ARE NOT ENGAGING IN ILLEGAL ACTIVITY AND SPECIFICALLY ARE NOT VIOLATING THE SAG'S POLITICAL INTERFERENCE ACT. THE SAG COULD, HOWEVER, SELECTIVELY INTERPRET THE ACT, TIGHTEN IT OR ENGAGE IN OTHER ACTIVITY TO INTIMIDATE OR RESTRICT FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN OR ACTIVITIES BY THE ALLIANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE ACTION TAKEN JAN. 11 BY THE ULUNDI CONFERENCE PART-ICIPANTS APPEARS SO FAR TO BE CAREFULLY AIMED AT REMAINING WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF LEGALITY VIS-A-VIS THE SAG. SOUTH AFRICA'S PROHIBITION OF POLITICAL INTERFERENCE ACT (NO. 51 OF 1968)
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MAKES IT ILLEGAL TO BELONG TO A RACIALLY-MIXED POLITICAL PARTY; TO ASSIST A POLITICAL PARTY WHICH HAS MEMBERS FROM OTHER POPULATION GROUPS; TO ASSIST CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION FOR SUCH OTHER GROUPS; OR TO ADDRESS ANY MEETING TO FURTHER THE INTERESTS OF A PARTY OR CANDIDATE OUTSIDE ONE'S OWN GROUP. (THE ACT ALSO MAKES IT ILLEGAL TO RECEIVE MONEY FROM OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA, OR CAUSE IT TO BE BROUGHT IN, TO FURTHER THE INTERESTS

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OF POLITICAL PARTIES OR CANDIDATES OR COMBAT ANY AIM OR
PRINCIPLE OF A POLITICAL PARTY.)

3. NO OBSERVER HAS SO FAR INDICATED A BELIEF THAT ALLIANCE
PARTICIPANTS ARE VIOLATING THE ABOVE ACT. SPEAKING AT THE
JAN. 11 CONFERENCE, CHIEF BUTHELEZI TERMED THE ALLIANCE A
"THINK TANK" FOR OPPRESSED BLACK GROUPS. HE SAID HE WISHED
TO SCOTCH RUMORS THAT THERE ARE PLANS FOR MERGING THE PART-
ICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS, "MUCH AS THEY OTHERWISE WOULD
LIKE TO". BUTHELEZI NOTED THE EASE WITH WHICH THE ALLIANCE
COULD FALL INTO THE SUBVERSIVE CATEGORY AND SAID HE AND THE
OTHER PARTICIPANTS WERE NOT SEEKING MARTYRDOM FOR THE SAKE
OF IT AND DID NOT INTEND TO GIVE THE SAG REASONS FOR CLAMPING
DOWN. THERE WAS NOTHING, HE INSISTED, TO PREVENT BLACKS
FROM HAVING "HOT LINES" TO EACH OTHER TO SHARE COLLECTIVE
WISDOM.

4. THE ALLIANCE STATEMENT OF FUTURE INTENDED ACTION (REF B)
IS COUCHED IN GENERAL LANGUAGE, I.E., TO PREPARE FOR A
NATIONAL CONVENTION OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS TO MAP OUT A
CHARTER AND NEW CONSTITUTION FOR A NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA.
BOTH IN STATEMENTS AT THE ULUNDI CONFERENCE AND IN SUBSEQUENT
POST CONTACTS, CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT
THE ALLIANCE HOPES TO FACILITATE PEPARATIONS FOR SUCH A
CONFERENCE - NOT CONVENE IT THEMSELVES. THEIR PRESENT
ASSUMPTION APPEARS TO BE THAT A COMBINATION OF PRESSURES -
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INTERNAL INSTABILITY, FOREIGN CRITICISM OR OTHER ACTION, AND
THE REFUSAL BY EACH OF THE PRESENT PARTICIPATING GROUPS TO
PERMIT EITHER THE HOMELANDS POLICY OR THE TRIPARTITE PARLIA-
MENTARY STRUCTURE TO FUNCTION AS THE SAG WISHES - COULD
EVENTUALLY FORCE THE SAG TO DIALOGUE WITH THE ALLIANCE ON
THE BASIS OFNMODERATE ALTERNATIVES TO THE PRESENT SYSTEM.
WHETHER GENUINELY HOPEFUL OF SUCCESS OR NOT, THE ALLIANCE
SEES ITS APPROACH AS A SENSIBLE, SAFE AND LEGAL WAY OF INCREASING
PRESSURE ON THE SAG FROM WITHIN THE APARTHEID STRUCTURE AS
IT NOW EXISTS.

5. COMMENT: THE CONTENTION THAT THE ALLIANCE IS NOT ENGAGED
IN ILLEGAL ACTIVITY MAY BE DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN IN THE LONG
RUN. THE LEGAL PROHIBITION AGAINST ADDRESSING MEETINGS WHICH
"FURTHER THE INTERESTS OF A POLITICAL PARTY" MIGHT, FOR EXAMPLE,
BE FLEXIBLY INTERPRETED BY THE SAG WHICH COULD HOLD THAT THE
INTERESTS AND STATURE OF THE PARTICIPATING PARTIES ARE IN
FACT FURTHERED WHEN VARIOUS MEMBERS SPEAK OUT FOR THE ALLIANCE.
THE LEGAL ARGUMENTS COULD ALSO PROVE TO BE IMMATERIAL
GIVEN THE ALREADY-VENTED INDICATION OF SAG DISPLEASURE
(REF C) WITH ANY ACTIVITY HAMPERING ITS OWN CONSTITUTIONAL
GRAND DESIGN. CHIEF BUTHELEZI AND INKATHA ARE FORMALLY ON

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WARNING FROM THE SAG THAT CONFRONTATION WILL ENSUE IF THEY ATTEMPT TO EXPAND AMONG NON-ZULUS OR ENGATE IN "POLARIZATION" OF BLACKS AND WHITES. ALLIANCE SPOKESMEN HAVE BEEN AT PAINS TO INSIST THAT THEY ARE NOT GANGING UP ON WHITES BUT IN-EVITABLY THE SAG LEADERSHIP MAY CHOOSE TO SEE IT THAT WAY. SAG POSSIBILITIES FOR COUNTER-ACTION ARE WIDE, INCLUDING INTIMIDATION OF PRESENT OR POTENTIAL ALLIANCE ADHERENTS, RESTRICTIVE ACTION AGAINST INKATHA AND BUTHELEZI, FLEXIBLE INTERPRETATION OF THE POLITICAL INTERFERENCE ACT, OR ITS TIGHTENING IN THE UPCOMING PARLIAMENTARY SESSION TO PRECLUDE MULTIRACIAL COOPERATION OF THE TYPE BEING UNDERTAKEN BY THE ALLIANCE.
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